WORKS IN PROGRESS

VOLUME 12, NUMBER 6 | THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION | OCTOBER 2001

Shocked and Horrified

Larry Mosqueda

Like all Americans, on Tuesday, 9-11, I was shocked and horrified to watch the WTC Twin Towers attacked by hijacked planes and collapse, resulting in the deaths of perhaps up to 10,000 innocent people.

I had not been that shocked and horrified since January 16, 1991, when then President Bush attacked Baghdad and the rest of Iraq and began killing 200,000 people during that "war" (slaughter).

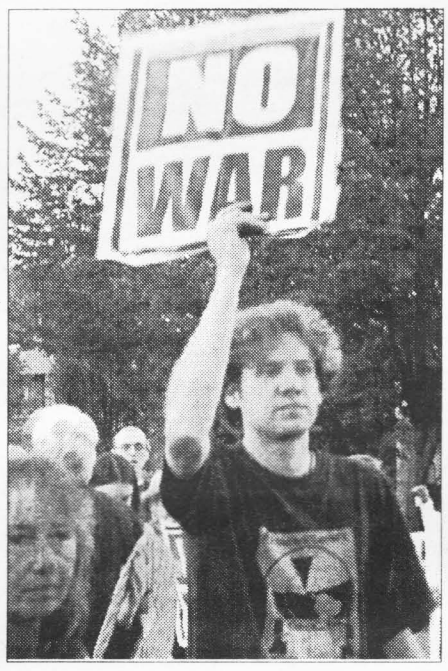
If indeed it is Bin Laden, the world must not deal only with him as an individual criminal, but eliminate the conditions that create the injustices and war crimes that will inevitably lead to more of these types of attacks in the future.

This includes the infamous "highway of death" in the last days of the slaughter when U.S. pilots literally shot in the back retreating Iraqi civilians and soldiers. I continue to be horrified by the sanctions on Iraq, which have resulted in the death of over 1,000,000 Iraqis, including over 500,000 children, about whom former Secretary of State Madeline Allbright has stated, their deaths "are worth the cost".

Over the course of my life I have been shocked and horrified by a variety of U.S. governmental actions, such as the U.S. sponsored coup against democracy in Guatemala in 1954 which resulted in the deaths of over 120,000 Guatemalan peasants by U.S. installed dictatorships over the course of four decades.

Last Tuesday's events reminded me of the horror I felt when the U.S. overthrew the government of the Dominican Republic in 1965 and helped to murder 3,000 people. And it reminded me of the shock I felt in 1973, when the U.S. sponsored a coup in Chile against the democratic government of Salvador Allende and helped to murder another 30,000 people, including U.S. citizens.

Last Tuesday's events reminded me of the shock and horror I felt in 1965 when the U.S. sponsored a coup in Indonesia that resulted in the murder of over 800,000 people, and the subsequent slaughter in 1975 of over 250,000 innocent people in East Timor by the Indonesian regime, with the direct complicity of President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.



I was reminded of the shock and horror I felt during the U.S. sponsored terrorist contra war (the World Court declared the U.S. government a war crimi-

(Continued on page 5)

Wal-Mart In Our Backyard

Tristan Baurick

Wal-Mart is coming; and not just one, but two. The retail giant plans to build a strong presence in Lacey by 2003 with a pair of big-box super stores separated by less than five miles. Wal-Mart announced plans in late summer to open these two sites; one near the intersection of Yelm Highway and College Street, and the other north of Quinault Drive, near I-5.

"Wal-Mart kills local merchants," he said. "That's their nature. That's the way they do business." -- Bigelow

Many welcome the chance to shop at America's biggest retailer, where nearly everything can be found under one roof, and at rock-bottom prices. But others accuse Wal-Mart of undercutting local businesses, destroying community character and purposefully turning downtowns into ghost towns.

"Wal-Mart coming to the area is a terrible thing," said Bob Bigelow, co-owner of Bigelow's Office Supply in downtown Olympia. "It's going to affect every business in town."

But Connie Lorenz, Coordinator of the Olympia Downtown Association, says there is little to fear.

"From my perspective, downtown will do fine – we have a good base of unique businesses."

Lorenz says Olympia's downtown has already faced-off with a Wal-Mart-sized threat when the Capitol Mall sprang up in the 1980s.

"It cut a knife through downtown," she said. "Nothing was going on. It took a lot of years to bounce back."

The downtown bounced back, Lorenz says, with specialized niche businesses not in competition with the mall and surrounding West Side chain stores.

But Bigelow, whose business has been anchored in downtown for nearly 50 years, says he will be in direct competition with Wal-Mart.

"Wal-Mart kills local merchants," he said. "That's their nature. That's the way they do business."

Bigelow's views are backed by a series of studies conducted by Iowa State that suggest 60 to 80 percent of Wal-Mart's sales are captured from other businesses. In addition, Bigelow says over a hundred independent office supply stores, like his, have closed shop nationwide due to competition from big-box retailers.

"They bleed us dry, they empty stores, and people lose their businesses and their jobs," he said.

Kathy Lester, a salesperson at Griswold's Office Supply near the downtown transit center, echoes Bigalow's sentiments.

"I think it stinks," she said.

A long-time resident of Shelton, Lester says she knows first hand the kind of impact Wal-mart can have on a small South Sound community. Lester says the Shelton Wal-Mart initially carried a wide selection of art supplies at prices

(Continued on page 9)

Olympia Peace March & Forum Draws Big Crowd

In defiance of polls citing 90% support for Bush's war on terrorism, nearly 1000 citizens marched for peace in downtown Olympia Monday evening, September 24, 2001 (see photos). The march began shortly after 6:00 PM at Heritage Park next to Capitol Lake. At first marchers stayed on the sidewalk because organizers had been pressured by Olympia Police not to occupy the street. But by the time the march entered Sylvester Park the crowd had grown so large that organizers were persuaded to move the march into the street.

From Sylvester park the peace march proceeded up Capitol Way to United Churches, where a forum was scheduled to begin at 7:00 PM. A vast column of marchers spread across several blocks made there way up Capitol Way as they chanted, "an eye for an eye leaves the whole world blind" and sang peace songs.

At the United Churches the crowd packed the meeting hall, which has seating for 500. Those unable to find a seat filled the isles and foyer. Many others milled around outside.

Among the very knowledgeable and informative forum speakers were Israeli feminist and peace activist Simona Sharoni, Evergreen Middle Eastern Studies professor Steven Niva, Evergreen professor Zahid Shariff, who is from Pakistan, and Evergreen professors Teresa Saliba and Pete Bohmer.

What to do if the U.S. Attacks another Country:

Meet at Sylvester Park at 7:00 PM following the attack.

For More Information on Organizing Efforts call Syniva at 570-0413

Next W.I.P.:

Election Issue w/ Candidate Endorsements

November 2001

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the Workers In Progress and are solely those of the authors.

Submissions:

Correspondence, articles, art, and photographs are always welcome. Please, when possible, put articles on a 3.5" IBM-compatible disk (text preferred) or via e-mail. Artwork and photos should be camera-ready/ black & white.

WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions. For editing purposes, please enclose your phone number.

Articles may be reprinted. Please cite source.

If you don't see your issue being covered in Works In Progress, it's because you aren't writing about it! Or aren't finding someone else to cover it!

Send submissions to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507-0295, wip@ olywa.net

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Mission Statement:

"Our aim is to confront injustice and encourage a participatory democracy based on economic, social, and environmental justice. Works In Progress is dedicated to providing a voice for those most affected by the exclusionary and unfair practices that seek to silence the oppressed."

Anti-Discrimination Clause:

We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

Governing Tool:

The following statement will become part of the Editorial Policy and will be the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause: *WIP will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by WIP to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but WIP reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.*

WIP Schedule

Submission Deadline:

Friday, Oct. 12th

Proofreading Meeting

Monday, Oct. 15th
6:30pm at Olympia Timberland Library

Everyone Welcome!

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Do We Have Democracy NOW!?

The Democracy NOW! radio program hosted by Amy Goodman, an invaluable resource in the struggle for social justice, is currently **not** being aired by KAOS. Amy is an investigative journalist of the highest integrity, presenting alternative analyses and solutions. The importance of her show cannot be overstressed as the Bush administration moves rapidly toward a major war. Amy Goodman's suspension is an intolerable new development in the ongoing struggle to maintain free speech in the face of increasing corporate control of media.

We have formed "KAOS Listeners for Democracy NOW!" to defend Amy's journalistic freedom and her ability to produce her show without harassment as well as to restore her show to the KAOS airwaves. At a community meeting attended by 40 people on September 13, 2001 we agreed to petition KAOS for the following:

1) That KAOS air Amy Goodman's daily live broadcast of Democracy NOW in Exile!
2) That KAOS provide the financial and technical resources so that her live show can be run on KAOS, Monday through Friday at 9am.
3) That KAOS management request of the Pacifica Radio Foundation that Amy Goodman be immediately reinstated and be able to produce the show at WBAI under the conditions she has specified.
4) That until Democracy NOW! in Exile can be broadcast live, KAOS play it at a regular daily time even if it is a day late.

Despite numerous appeals by our committee and other KAOS listeners, we have (thus far) not received a complete solution from KAOS management. We invite all people who recognize the importance of Democracy NOW! to support our efforts.

"KAOS Listeners for Democracy NOW!" RALLY

In Support of Democracy NOW!
TESC Library Lobby
October 5th, from Noon to 2 pm
Invited Guests Include Amy Goodman and Sam Husseini

Flash Update: we expect Amy Goodman in Olympia for a rally on Saturday October 6th. Details will be confirmed. Call 867-0290 for info.

For blank petitions and additional information about the ongoing efforts of our committee visit our website at www.morelater.com/kaos. For information about the ongoing crisis at Pacifica, including the suspension of Amy Goodman, visit www.zmag.org and www.pacificacampaign.org.

Globalizing Justice & Peace: Visions And Strategies

October 4-7, 2001
The Evergreen State College
Olympia, WA, USA

The Annual Conference of the Consortium on Peace Research, Education & Development (COPRED) and the Peace Studies Association (PSA)

The Conference will focus on visions and strategies for justice and peace in the context of globalization. The accelerated processes of globalization have reinvigorated struggles for justice and peace worldwide. Globalization has had uneven effects on different populations

(Continued page 11)

SOUTH SOUND GREEN PAGES

South Sound's Monthly Environmental Newspaper

Green Pages is a forum for individuals and organizations concerned about the integrity of our environment and the quality of life in our community.

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OCTOBER 2001

...and they're crying all the way to the bank

When Wall Street reopened, weapons and security companies' stocks rose while 401 (k) retirement plans did a record drop and the Dow fell 14.3%.

Compamy	% increase	nature of business
Armor Holdings, Inc.	39.9%	security equipment, anti-riot, armored vehicles
Northrop Grumman Corp.	21.2%	B-2 stealth bomber, warships, surveillance systems
Raytheon	37%	aerospace products (66% sold to Defense Dept)
L-3 Communications Holdings, Inc.	35.8%	communications systems (63% to Defense Dept)
EDO Corp.	24.8%	electronic, electromechanical and information systems (70% sold to Defense Dept)
Alliant Techsystems Inc.	23.5%	gunpowder, smart bombs, mines, rocket systems
Invision Technologies	195.5%	explosives detection systems
ICTS International	103.4%	aviation security services
Visage Technologies	175.8%	face recognition and fingerprint imaging with instantaneous surveillance applications

Source: Tom Turnipseed *(Commondreams.org)*

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
No amount of vehement denials can change the reality that huge numbers of civilians are now in the Pentagon's cross hairs. -- N. Solomon	**1** **2000**: 9 Palestinians killed in clashes w/ Israeli troops; cameras catch father trying to protect child who is fatally wounded	**2** **1963**: United States predicts victory in Vietnam by 1965 **1967**: Thurgood Marshall takes seat on US Supreme Court	**3** **1945**: Truman suggests A-bomb ban with US as monitor **1965**: N.Y.: LBJ says doors are open to all Cuban exiles	**4** **1999**: Abu-Jamal loses Supreme Court appeal **2000**: Barak offers to pull back tanks and personnel carriers from West Bank/Gaza Strip	**5** **1966**: TX Court voids Jack Ruby conviction **1997**: Oly: 150 protest Nike's labor practices **2000**: Milosevic's rule ends in Yugoslavia	**6** **1959**: Ike invokes Taft-Hartley Act to end dock strike **2000**: Milosevic concede defeat in Sept 24 election
7 2000: UN condemns Israeli's "excessive" force that killed 80+ Palestinians, and Sharon's visit to Jerusalem shrine	**8** **1951**: Cairo announces decree to eject British from Suez **1967**: Che Guevara murdered by Bolivian gov while in custody	**9** **1966**: US reports Vietnam War now costing $2 billion per month **1969**: Chicago: Natl. Guard called out to quell SDS protests	**10** **1970**: Fiji gains independence after 96 years of British rule **2000**: Clinton signs US-China trade normalizing trade	**11** **2000**: 2nd Gore/Bush presidential debate is held **2000**: 42,000 Los Angeles County employees stage general strike	**12** **2000**: USS Cole is blasted by terrorist bomb in the port of Aden, Yemen **2000**: The Dow drops 279 points	**13** **1999**: Ralph Nader's Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch blasts WTO for eroding democracy for benefit of corporate globalization
14 **1964**: Martin Luther King, Jr. awarded Nobel Peace Prize. He donated $54,000 prize money to civil rights movement	**15** **1962**: Amnesty International created to monitor human rights **1999**: Lacey opens Lacey Child Care/ Family Services Center	**16** **2000**: Barak and Arafat begin 1st day of peace summit **2000**: Chervon reaches deal to buy Texaco for $34 billion	**17** **2000**: Arafat and Barak vow to end violence confrontations **2000**: The final Bush/ Gore presidential debate is held	**18** **1971**: House orders Nixon not to cut funds for school lunches **2000**: Scientist revive 250 million-year-old bacteria	**19** **1960**: MLK arrested for Atlanta sit-in **2000**: Census Bureau releases data showing that Lacey grew 52% over last decade	**20** **1973**: Nixon fires Cox as special prosecutor **2000**: Truce collapses in Israel, 9 Palestinians killed, dozens wounded
21 **1904**: Panamanians clash with US Marines during brief uprising **1967**: Peace Rally storms Pentagon. 250 arrested	**22** **1954**: Ike approves plan for intensive training of S Vietnamese **1962**: Kennedy orders US air /naval forces to "quarantine" Cuba	**23** **1959**: Castro charges US planes bombed Havana in secret attack **1983**: Truck bombs level US Marine post in Beirut	**24** **1936**: Reich recognizes Italian conquest of Ethiopia **2000**: Olympia sewer project uncovers Native-american artifacts	**25** **1983**: 2,500 United States Marines and Rangers invade Grenada **2000**: AT&T to split into four companies	**26** **1958**: Cuba: Castro warns US to stay out of revolt **1983**: Reagan bars reporters from covering Grenada	**27** **2000**: 30,000 troops added to list of those exposed to nerve gas **2000**: Hanford waste 10 x more radioactive than was thought
28 **1966**: Activist Stokely Carmichael vows not to enter in military **1974**: Arab heads of state call for independent Palestinian state	**29** **1979**: San Salvador: 24 killed by police in anti-gov protests **1984**: Chilean Army sends 140 into internal exile	**30** **1965**: US jets bomb Vietnamese village killing 48 civilians **2000**: Five nat'l polls claims Bush/Gore race too close to call	**31** **1952**: Bolivia nationalizes 3 tin companies **1965**: Ex-Army intelligence agent says he bugged Eleanor Roosevelt's hotel room	***The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base. That was because we wished in this first attack to avoid, in so far as possible, the killing of civilians.*** **President Truman, August 1945** Source: Norman Soloman		

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Best used when cut out and mounted on cardboard or posterboard! See page two on how to get your own NO WAR poster.

(Shocked, continued)

nal in 1984 for the mining of the harbors) against Nicaragua in the 1980s which resulted in the deaths of over 30,000 innocent people (or as the U.S. government used to call them before the term "collateral damage" was invented—"soft targets").

I was reminded of being horrified by the U. S. war against the people of El Salvador in the 1980s, which resulted in the brutal deaths of over 80,000 people, or "soft targets".

I was reminded of the shock and horror I felt during the U.S.-sponsored terexclusion of virtually any rights for the Palestinians in their native lands, resulting in ever worsening day-to-day conditions for the people of Palestine. I was shocked as I learned about the hundreds of towns and villages that were literally wiped off the face of the earth in the early days of Israeli colonization. I was horrified in 1982 as the villagers of Sabra and Shatila were massacred by Israeli allies with direct Israeli complicity and direction. The untold thousands who died on that day match the scene of horror that we saw last Tuesday. But those scenes were not repeated over and over again on the national media to inflame the American public.

ror war against the peoples of southern Africa (especially Angola) that began in the 1970s and continues to this day, and has resulted in the deaths and mutilations of over 1,000,000. I was reminded of the shock and horror I felt as the U.S. invaded Panama over the Christmas season of 1989 and killed over 8,000 in an attempt to capture George H. Bush's CIA partner, now turned enemy, Manual Noriega.

I was reminded of the horror I felt when I learned about how the Shah of Iran was installed in a U.S. sponsored brutal coup that resulted in the deaths of over 70,000 Iranians from 1952-1979. And the continuing shock as I learned that the Ayatollah Khomani, who overthrew the Shah in 1979, and who was the U.S. public enemy for the decade of the 1980s, was also on the CIA payroll while he was in exile in Paris in the 1970s.

I was reminded of the shock and horror that I felt as I learned about how the U.S. has "manufactured consent" since 1948 for its support of Israel to the

The events and images of last Tuesday have been appropriately compared to the horrific events and images of Lebanon in the 1980s with resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands of people, with no reference to the fact that the country that inflicted the terror on Lebanon was Israel, with U.S. backing. I still continue to be shocked at how mainstream commentators refer to "Israeli settlers" in the "occupied territories" with no sense of irony as they report on who are the aggressors in the region.

Of course, the largest and most shocking war crime of the second half of the 20th century was the U.S. assault on Indochina from 1954-1975, especially Vietnam, where over 4,000,000 people were bombed, napalmed, crushed, shot and individually "hands on" murdered in the "Phoenix Program" (this is where Oliver North got his start). Many U.S. Vietnam veterans were also victimized by this war and had the best of intentions, but the policy makers themselves knew the criminality of their actions and policies as revealed in their own words in "The Pentagon Papers," released by Daniel Ellsberg of the RAND Corporation. In 1974 Ellsberg noted that our Presidents from Truman to Nixon continually lied to the U.S. public about the purpose and conduct of the war. He has stated that, "It is a tribute to the American people that our leaders perceived that they had to lie to us, it is not a tribute to us that we were so easily misled."

I was continually shocked and horrified as the U.S. attacked and bombed with impunity the nation of Libya in the 1980s, including killing the infant daughter of Khadafi. I was shocked as the U.S. bombed and invaded Grenada in 1983. I was horrified by U.S. military and CIA actions in Somalia, Haiti, Afghanistan, Sudan, Brazil, Argentina, and Yugoslavia. The deaths in these actions ran into the hundreds of thousands.

The above list is by no means complete or comprehensive. It is merely a list that is easily accessible and not unknown, especially to the economic and intellectual elites. It has just been conveniently eliminated from the public discourse and public consciousness. And for the most part, the analysis that the U.S. actions have resulted in the deaths of primarily civilians (over 90%) is not unknown to these elites and policy makers. A conservative number for those who have been killed by U.S. terror and military action since World War II is 8,000,000 people. Repeat—8,000,000 people. This does not include the wounded, the imprisoned, the displaced, the refugees, etc. Martin Luther King, Jr. stated in 1967, during the Vietnam War, "My government is the world's leading purveyor of violence." Shocking and horrifying.

Nothing that I have written is meant to disparage or disrespect those who were victims and those who suffered death or the loss of a loved one during this week's events. It is not meant to "justify" any action by those who bombed the Twin Towers or the Pentagon. It is meant to put it in a context. If we believe that the actions were those of "madmen", they are "madmen" who are able to keep a secret for 2 years or more among over 100 people, as they trained to execute a complex plan. While not the acts of madmen, they are apparently the acts of "fanatics" who, depending on who they really are, can find real grievances, but whose actions are illegitimate.

Osama Bin Laden at this point has been accused by the media and the government of being the mastermind of

(Continued next page)

No Justice, No Peace

by Frank Hoffman

We all want to be safe and sheltered and clothed and fed. We want this for ourselves and for our children. So it is in Afghanistan and Israel and Palestine and Columbia. How strangers help each other to succeed in those efforts is maybe what politics is about. Now may be a time for a global politics that is inclusive, cooperative, just and without ideology, without dogma.

If the terrorists kill in the name of innocents whom our government has killed, in our name; the terrorists remain murderers. We cannot ignore them.

Now we pay for ignoring electoral politics. We have as president a man who is talking about long wars and crusades. It must be genetic. His father did much to cause Middle Eastern people to be angry with us, to have distaste for us. General Powell, the stern but gentle father, seems to be emerging as one of the administrations more common sense leaders. He knows bombing Afghanistan won't change anything. He knows Arab countries will work with us, despite their distaste for us, if we show them some respect.

George W. talks about a war between freedom and fear. John Trudell talks about freedom versus responsibility. We don't, he said, the last time I heard him, really want the Klu Kluxers to be free to do their thing. (something like this) What is important is taking responsibility for what we do. Responsibility is more important than freedom.

Responsibility involves being accountable for what we do. George W., and the American people, are being held accountable for the actions of our government. Part of a Hopi prophecy is that for every bomb our government has dropped on another country, a bomb will be dropped on us. That is horrible to contemplate. I'd like to see my grandchildren live long enough to become adults.

I have not heard the president admit his father and others in the government in the recent past have harmed innocent people, which has alienated a significant part of the world population. It is courageous to be willing to be accountable.

It is possible the left will disappear in the U.S. Government suppression of dissent, in the name of "united we stand" may encourage that, our rabid rhetoric will, or our politeness.

Men and women are being asked to kill and to die for their country, for us. Our politics needs to include and recognize these soldiers. We also have a responsibility to see that the violence of our country is directed at the appropriate people.

The Congress has given the president a blank check for 40 billion dollars. If the Congress keeps rolling over like that, things will keep getting worse. The weapons companies will keep getting richer and the poor will keep getting less.

It may be possible during this time to take political control back from the multi national corporations. And we can begin to make them accountable. It seems clear our military did not protect us September 11. The long-term solution to terrorism also is probably not military, so we do not need to further bloat those corporations dependent on military expenditures. Justice establishes stability. No justice, no peace.

(Shocked, continued)

Tuesday's bombings. Given the government's track record on lying to the America people, that should not be accepted as fact at this time. If indeed Bin Laden is the mastermind of this action, he is responsible for the deaths of perhaps 10,000 people-a shocking and horrible crime. Ed Herman in his book *The Real Terror Network: Terrorism in Fact and Propaganda* does not justify any terrorism but points out that states often engage in "wholesale" terror, while those whom governments define as "terrorist" engage is "retail" terrorism. While qualitatively the results are the same for the individual victims of terrorism, there is a clear quantitative difference. And as Herman and others point out, the seeds, the roots, of much of the "retail" terror are in fact found in the "wholesale" terror of states. Again this is not to justify, in any way, the actions of last Tuesday, but to put them in a context and suggest an explanation.

Perhaps most shocking and horrific, if indeed Bin Laden is the mastermind of Tuesday's actions: he has clearly had significant training in logistics, armaments, and military training, etc. by competent and expert military personnel. And indeed he has. During the 1980s, he was recruited, trained and funded by the CIA in Afghanistan to fight against the Russians. As long as he visited his terror on Russians and his enemies in Afghanistan, he was "our man" in that country.

The same is true of Saddam Hussein of Iraq, who was a CIA asset in Iraq during the 1980s. Hussein could gas his own people, repress the population, and invade his neighbor (Iran) as long as he did it with U.S. approval.

The same was true of Manuel Noriega of Panama, who was a contemporary and CIA partner of George H. Bush in the 1980s. Noriega's main crime for Bush, the father, was not that he dealt drugs (he did, but the U.S. and Bush knew this before 1989), but that Noriega was no longer going to cooperate in the ongoing U.S. terrorist contra war against Nicaragua. This information is not unknown or really controversial among elite policy makers. To repeat, this not to justify any of the actions of last Tuesday, but to put it in its horrifying context.

As shocking as the events of last Tuesday were, they are likely to generate even more horrific actions by the U.S. government that will add significantly to the 8,000,000 figure stated above. This response may well be qualitatively and quantitatively worse than the events of Tuesday. The New York Times headline of 9/14/01 states that, "Bush And Top Aides Proclaim Policy Of Ending States That Back Terror" as if that was a rationale, measured, or even sane option. States that have been identified for possible elimination are "a number of Asian and African countries, like Afghanistan, Iraq, Sudan, and even Pakistan." This is beyond shocking and horrific-it is just as potentially suicidal, homicidal, and more insane than the hijackers themselves.

Also, qualitatively, these actions will be even worse than the original bombers if one accepts the mainstream premise that those involved are "madmen", "religious fanatics", or a "terrorist group." If so, they are acting as either individuals or as a small group. The U.S. actions may continue the homicidal policies of a few thousand elites for the past 50 years, involving both political parties.

The retail terror is that of desperate and sometime fanatical small groups and individuals who often have legitimate grievances, but engage in individual criminal and illegitimate activities; the wholesale terror is that of "rational" educated men where the pain, suffering, and deaths of millions of people are contemplated, planned, and too often, executed, for the purpose of furthering a nebulous concept called the "national interest". Space does not allow a full explanation of the elites' Orwellian concept of the "national interest", but it can be summarized as the protection and expansion of hegemony and an imperial empire.

The American public is being prepared for war while being fed a continuous stream of shocking and horrific repeated images of Tuesday's events and heartfelt stories from the survivors and the loved ones of those who lost family members. These stories are real and should not be diminished. In fact, those who lost family members can be considered a representative sample of humanity of the 8,000,000 who have been lost previously. If we multiply by 800-1000 times the amount of pain, angst, and anger being currently felt by the American public, we might begin to understand how much of the rest of the world feels as they are continually victimized.

Some particularly poignant images are the heart wrenching public stories that we are seeing and hearing of family members with pictures and flyers searching for their loved ones. These images are virtually the same as those of the "Mothers of the Disappeared" who searched for their (primarily) adult children in places such as Argentina, where over 11,000 were "disappeared" in 1976-1982, again with U.S. approval. Just as the mothers of Argentina deserved our respect and compassion, so do the relatives of those who are searching for their relatives now. However we should not allow ourselves to be manipulated by the media and U.S. government into turning real grief and anger into a national policy of wholesale terror and genocide against innocent civilians in Asia and Africa. What we are seeing in military terms is called "softening the target." The target here is the American public and we are being ideologically and emotionally prepared for the slaughter that may commence soon.

None of the previously identified Asian and African countries are democracies, which means that the people of these countries have virtually no impact on developing the policies of their governments, even if we assume that these governments are complicit in Tuesday's actions. When one examines the recent history of these countries, one will find that the American government had direct and indirect influences on creating the conditions for the existence of some of these governments. This is especially true of the Taliban government of Afghanistan itself.

The New York Metropolitan Area has about 21,000,000 people or about 8 % of the U.S. population. Almost everyone in America knows someone who has been killed, injured or traumatized by the events of Tuesday. I know that I do. Many people are calling for "revenge" or "vengeance" and comments such as "kill them all" have been circulated on the TV, radio, and email. A few more potentially benign comments have called for "justice." This is only potentially benign since that term may be defined by people such as Bush and Colin Powell. Powell is an unrepentant participant in the Vietnam War, the terrorist contra war against Nicaragua, and the Gulf war, at each level becoming more responsible for the planning and execution of the policies.

Those affected, all of us, must do everything in our power to prevent a wider war and even greater atrocity, do everything possible to stop the genocide if it starts, and hold those responsible for their potential war crimes during and after the war. If there is a great war in 2001 and it is not catastrophic (a real possibility), the crimes of that war will be revisited upon the U.S. over the next generation. That is not some kind of religious prophecy or threat, it is merely a straightforward political analysis. If indeed it is Bin Laden, the world must not deal only with him as an individual criminal, but eliminate the conditions that create the injustices and war crimes that will inevitably lead to more of these types of attacks in the future. The phrase "No Justice, No Peace" is more than a slogan used in a march, it is an observable historical fact. It is time to end the horror.

In a few short pages it is impossible to delineate all of the events described over the past week or to give a comprehensive accounting of U.S. foreign policy. Below are a few resources for up to date news and some background reading by Noam Chomsky, the noted analyst. The titles of the books explain their relevance for this topic.

For the most current information see www.commondreams.org; for information on how the media distorts the news see www.fair.org; for excellent links on the Middle East see http://al-awda.org/newyork/links.html.

For background reading by Noam Chomsky see: Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies; Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media (with Ed Herman); Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians; Deterring Democracy

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Addressing the Sources of Middle Eastern Violence Against the U.S.A.

Steve Niva

In the wake of the immense tragedy of the recent attacks on American soil it is difficult to get beyond the horror and shock of what has just happened and engage in serious reflection on the sources of violence against the United States. This is understandable given the almost unbelievable nature of this attack. Yet it is more necessary than ever if one is to find ways to limit such attacks in the future and develop long terms policies against further violence.

There is substantial evidence of a Middle Eastern connection to this attack and media coverage has frequently mentioned the name of Osama bin Laden as the number one terrorist suspect and mastermind of this operation. As we are inexorably led down the road to military confrontation in the Middle East, it is necessary to gain clarity about the specific actors and their motivations before one can even think about how to respond. For Americans who like their heroes and villains portrayed in simple dichotomies of good and evil, the result of this kind of clarity will be disturbing because the United States has created many enemies through its policies in the Middle East over the past century and bears some responsibility for creating a fertile soil for anti-American hatred. None of this justifies any attack or use of violence against the United States, especially the heinous crimes just committed. But any American response that does not address this truth is doomed to further the cycle of violence and more innocent lives will be at risk.

Who is behind the attacks?

The recent attacks on U.S. soil are most likely related to an escalating series of attacks and bombings on U.S. targets over the past 10 years. In order, these attacks include: the recent bombing of the USS Cole in October, 2000 that claimed 17 lives; the 1998 bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in which hundreds were killed; the 1996 car-bomb attack on a U.S. barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia that killed 19 Americans; the 1995 car-bomb attack on an American National Guard Training center in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia that took 4 lives and, of course, the 1993 World Trade Center truck-bombing that killed 6 people and injured over a thousand others.

All of these attacks have been attributed to Islamic radicals based in the Middle East and Central Asia under the rubric of a very hazy notion of "Islamic fundamentalism." Indeed a number of people from these regions with links to certain militant Islamic groups have been arrested and charged in some of these actions. But rather than details and specifics about these Islamic groups, their complex relations to one another and their motivations, we are usually treated to simplistic portrayals that explain their hatred of the U.S. as little more than the product of a fanatical and inherently anti-Western and anti-American world view based on their religion. For example, Stephen Emerson, a self-proclaimed terrorism expert who frequently appears in the media, claims that "the hatred of the US by militant Islamic fundamentalists is not tied to any particular act or event. Rather, fundamentalists equate the mere existence of the West-its economic, political and cultural systems-as an intrinsic attack on Islam."

Any explanation of Middle Eastern violence that relies upon the notion that Muslim activists are inherently violent or inherently anti-Western is false and misleading. First, there are many different kinds of Islamic activists in different countries around the world who have a wide variety of views on violence, the West, and the goals of their activism. Some favor violent revolution but the vast majority simply want to make Islamic teachings more central to the social and legal norms of their society. Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that Islam is one of the world's largest and most diverse religions and like Christianity or Judaism there are thousands of views within Islam about the religion and also about violence and its justification. There is no way one can generalize about Islamic movements or Islam for that matter.

Any explanation of Middle Eastern violence that relies upon the notion that Muslim activists are inherently violent or inherently anti-Western is false and misleading.

So who are the perpetrators and what drove them to carry this horrendous act? The most likely perpetrators of these attacks are related to an extremely small and fringe network of militants whose military training and specific ideological views developed during their participation in the U.S. backed war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan in the 1980's and developments that followed over the next decade. These militants were originally recruited by the CIA and the Saudi Arabian and Pakistani intelligence services to fight against the Soviet Union during the 1980's. They came from different classes but mostly from militant opposition groups from around the Middle East, including Algeria, Egypt, Palestine and elsewhere, in order to wage war on behalf of the Muslim people of Afghanistan against the communist enemy. In Afghanistan, they joined forces with some of the most reactionary and militant Afghani fighters, who were chosen over more moderate forces by Pakistani intelligence services, the most directly involved agency in prosecuting the war.

Among the many coordinators and financiers of this effort was a rich young Saudi named Osama Bin Laden, who was the millionaire son of a wealthy Saudi businessman with close contacts to the Saudi royal family. Although accounts vary regarding his actual participation in the war, he played an important role in helping recruit volunteers and build networks of bases in Pakistan and Afghanistan after 1984. Bin Laden himself denies ever knowingly working with the CIA, which may be true, but there is also no question that he was an important figure in this major U.S.-backed effort, the largest CIA covert operation in history, and must have been known to those involved.

This network of conservative Sunni Muslim activists and militants, who became known as "the Afghans" in the Middle East due to their participation in Afghanistan, also served another purpose for the U.S. and its allies in the region. Not only were they anti-Communist due to their rejection of its atheism, they were also opposed to the brand of Islamic radicalism promoted by the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran and its leader Ayatollah Khomeini. Influenced by the socially reactionary Wahhabi school of Islam practiced in Saudi Arabia and the conservative Pakistani Islamist Party, Jamaat-i Islami, their narrow brand of Islam is antagonistic to the social justice content of Khomeiniism and also anti-Shiite, which is the main doctrine of Islam practiced in Iran. The revolution had toppled a close ally of the U.S., the Shah of Iran, who played a major role as a pillar of U.S. hegemony in the oil rich Persian Gulf. It was threatening key U.S. allies such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other oil rich states. Therefore, the clear aim of U.S. foreign policy therefore was to kill two birds with one stone: turn back the Soviet Union and create a counter-weight to radical Iranian inspired threats to U.S. interests, particularly U.S. backed regimes who controlled the massive oil resources. The failure of U.S. policy in the Middle East

But this policy has now turned into a nightmare for the U.S. and it is certainly one factor that has likely led to the recent attacks against the U.S. in New York and Washington D.C. After the Soviets were defeated in Afghanistan in 1989 the "Afghan" network became largely expendable to the U.S. who no longer needed their services. In fact, these militants actively turned against the U.S. when a number of them returned home and moved into the violent opposition against U.S. allied regimes and opposed the U.S. war against Iraq in 1991. They were particularly opposed to the unprecedented positioning of U.S. ground troops in Saudi Arabia on the land of the Islamic holy sites of Mecca and Medina. Many observers believe that this event was the likely trigger that led militants like bin Laden, a Saudi national, to believe that the U.S. was using the Gulf War to extend its military forces into the Arabian Peninsula in order to prop up its allies against their growing Islamic opposition, which included many of the returnees from Afghanistan.

(Continued next page)

Background Information

by Vermont Anti-war Group

Who are the Taliban and what is their connection to Osama bin Laden? **The Taliban are the current rulers of much of Afghanistan. They assumed this position after their victory over other forces in the many sided Afghan civil war that followed the Soviet defeat and withdrawal from that country. The Soviets had originally invaded Afghanistan in 1980 following the failure of their client government in Kabul to keep power. The Taliban and bin Laden were part of the forces created by the CIA and Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) to defeat the Soviets. These forces were funded by the CIA and heroin sales facilitated by the CIA. Most members of these forces, which eventually numbered over 100,000, were not aware of the role they were playing in U.S. plans for the region, believing instead that they were only fighting a jihad (holy war) against the godless forces of the Soviet Union. The U.S., meanwhile, had its eyes not only on the total defeat of the Soviet Union, but also on the vast oil fields in Central Asia and Afghanistan's potential role in transporting that oil via a pipeline through that country and Pakistan to the Arabian Sea. After the Soviets were defeated, the various factions within the guerrilla forces began to compete for power, with the Taliban eventually winning. Bin Laden, meanwhile, had turned his attention from the Soviets to what he perceived to be his form of Islam's other great enemy-the United States. This attention intensified when the U.S. launched the war against Iraq and insisted on stationing U.S. troops throughout the region.**

What about other countries that "host" terrorism? **There are elements within the U.S. military-political establishment who would like to use this tragedy as an excuse to rid the world of all those governments which oppose the United States, using the pretext that these regimes host or sponsor terrorism. Indeed, the media is already preparing us for possible intensification of the war against Iraq, to name one example. As for Afghanistan, there is evidence that the United States had plans prior to the attacks to invade that country in October 2001 (BBC 9/18/01) anyhow. The argument that a country hosts terrorism is a faulty one-after all, didn't most of the dead hijackers live in the United States? This argument is nothing more than an excuse for the more hawkish members of the U.S. establishment to manipulate the legitimate emotions of the American people in the wake of the mass murders of September 11th. It is our belief that these acts were criminal acts and should be dealt with as any act of mass murder is dealt with. When someone commits mass murder at the shopping mall, we don't attack the neighborhood where the perpetrators lived. We shouldn't do that in this case, either. Nor should we blame all Muslims, Arabs, or other peoples from that part of the world.**

But aren't the Taliban and bin Laden organizations based on Islamic religious principles? **Yes and no. All religions have their dogmatic and apocalyptic spinoffs. Not too long ago, citizens of the U.S. saw David Koresh's apocalyptic interpretation of Christianity bring the might of Washington's internal security apparatus down upon his group's compound in Waco, Texas. The Taliban and bin Laden, while divergent in their beliefs, apparently share a belief that non-believers in their version of Islam are the enemy. The majority of Muslims share a belief held by most of humanity-that the slaughter of innocents is absolutely wrong and a sin against God.**

What can we do if we oppose war?

- **Read about the history of the region.**
- **Gently remind folks that war is an act of terror itself and, if the U.S. military goes into any country and launches a massive attack and bombardment that kills innocents, it is no different than those who drove the airliners into the WTC.**
- **Work in the community to protect Muslim residents from the ignorant anger of those who feel a need to attack somebody.**
- **Encourage your representatives and senators to think with their brains and not their emotions and vote against war and any accompanying abridgement of our civil rights.**

(Sources of Violence, cont.)

These militants now believe that the Saudi regime is fundamentally corrupt and is little more than a client of the United States, who backs what they see as anti-Islamic states in Egypt, Algeria, Israel, Turkey and elsewhere. Because America is the primary protective force of the Saudi regime, the U.S. must be driven out of the region so that the true Islamic activists can overthrow the corrupt Saudi regime and establish an authentic Islamic state closer to that of the Taliban in Afghanistan. These views led them to organize the networks who subsequently engaged in an escalating series of attacks on U.S. military and diplomatic facilities in the 1990's, including the August 2, 1998 attack on U.S. embassies in Africa, the eighth anniversary of the arrival of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia during the Gulf War buildup.

More broadly, other militants have been recruited into these shadowy networks largely in response to their perception that the West, led by the United States, is now waging war against Muslims around the world and that they have to defend themselves by any means necessary, including violence and terrorism. They point to a number of cases where Muslims have born the brunt of violence as evidence of this war: the attempted genocide against Bosnian Muslims, the Russian war in Chechnya, the Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands, and the UN sanctions against Iraq. They claim that the US either supported the violence or failed to prevent it in all of these cases. One can certainly argue with these claims, but the important point is that it is these beliefs enable them to justify not only targeting U.S. military facilities but also its civilians as a case of just war or "jihad" in defense of Islam, a view not shared by most Muslims around the world. It should be clear that this network is only a very radical fringe of militants who have decided that they must use armed tactics to get their message out to the U.S. and others. Further, Osama bin Laden is not the mastermind of these attacks as is often claimed in the media; he just facilitates these groups and sentiments with logistics and finances, as do others. He is simply a very visible symbol of this loose network and the U.S. obsession with him most likely works to increase his standing as an icon of resistance to the U.S. The network with which he is linked has no geographical location or fixed center; it appears to be a kaleidoscopic overlay of cells and interlinkages that span the globe from camps on the Afghan-Pakistan borderlands to immigrant communities in Europe and the U.S. This small, violent and socially reactionary network differs in important ways with the wider current of Islamic activism in Arab world and more globally which has a wider social justice agenda on behalf of the poor and dispossessed, is more involved in party building and mass mobilization, and largely rejects the simplistic Islamic doctrines promoted by this network. Moreover, they are disconnected from these movements in that they do not locate their struggle in a national context, but rather in a global war on behalf of Muslims They are anti-Iranian, so they have few links with Iranian inspired groups. They are now anti-Saudi, which means they have severed their connections with a number of Saudi funded groups in different Middle Eastern states. As a result, their actions have even been condemned on occasion by Muslim activist organizations ranging from the Muslim brotherhood in Egypt to the FIS in Algeria and HAMAS in Palestine. Nevertheless, they certainly share some common sentiments with this wider current of Islamic activism. There is no question that the one-sided U.S. support for Israel, the U.S. sponsorship of sanctions against Iraq as well as U.S. support for some dictatorships across the region who are embroiled in vicious civil wars with their Islamic opposition groups and prevent their participation in political processes, have created a fertile ground for some sympathy with such militancy.

The rise of this militant network and their adoption of violence against the United States, as Olivier Roy has claimed in a number of his writings, represents a clear failure of U.S. strategy in the region, especially the U.S./Saudi/Pakistani model of an alliance between conservative Sunni Islamic activism and the West that emerged in the 1980's. The problem is that US has no alternative political strategy because it has increasingly seen all Islamic activists as its enemy, or at least it has not promoted a policy of clearly distinguishing between violent extremism and Islamic activism oriented more towards social and cultural change within states. Moreover, the U.S appears to have no long-term strategy to address the grievances that the radical groups share with vast majority of Muslim activists who abhor using violent methods.

Military solutions to the problems in the Middle East and the terrorism that has resulted from these problems is not a policy but a recipe for more violence and bombings.

Fight the Roots of Terrorism

A military strike on militant camps in Afghanistan may kill or capture bin Laden and a number of his associates but it will not likely incapacitate the far-flung networks of militants that may have produced the recent attacks on American soil. They will remain in place, with new reasons to carry out more terror. Moreover, a massive display of American military might brought to bear on a Muslim nation, especially one that kills innocent civilians in the process, is precisely the type of action that these militants hope will create the conditions for unifying greater numbers of Muslims against the United States. It would confirm their view that the US is an arrogant superpower that cares little about Muslim lives.

A more effective alternative to a military response must combine a massive international law enforcement effort with a political strategy designed to isolate and undermine these militant networks. The deliberate and murderous attacks on innocent American civilians should be characterized and prosecuted as a crime not a war. The United States must use all its resources to compel international cooperation to ensure that the perpetrators have no place to hide. Identifying bin Laden and his network as mass murderers who have violated international law will make it extremely difficult for countries, especially those who fear being allied with an American-led war, to refuse more discrete and effective assistance to the US. Also, given the disperse nature of the networks, only international cooperation will work to root them out. American declarations of war inhibit rather than promote this cooperation.

This approach must be bolstered by a political strategy that deepens the isolation of these fringe networks from the vast majority of Arabs and Muslims, many of whom hold deep and legitimate grievances with US policies but who do not support violence. In words and deeds, the US must go further than clearly making a distinction between Islam as a religion and violent extremism, although that is a first step. The US must also critically reexamine its policies in the Middle East.

The US should condemn the serious human rights abuses committed by its allies with the same force as it condemns other regimes in the region and condition its aid on progress in opening up closed political systems, even if this means greater participation by Islamic movements. It should curtail the massive arms transfers to the region and reduce its military presence, especially in Saudi Arabia, which have done little to promote democracy or stability. The US must also recognize the failure of the devastating sanctions regime on Iraq which have cost the lives of 5,000 children, under age five, every month, according to UNICEF. Over one million Iraqis have died as a direct result of over a decade of sanctions. Even if one accepts the debatable claim that Saddam Hussein is solely responsible, the US has clearly helped him enforce his brutal rule by giving him the tool of starvation to use as a policy. In addition, the U.S. pro-Israel policy unfairly puts higher demands on Palestinians to renounce violence than on Israelis to halt new settlements and adhere to U.N. resolutions calling for an Israeli withdrawal from Palestinian lands. It should clearly support legitimate Palestinian aspirations for an independent state alongside a secure Israel.

Such an approach is not a concession to terrorism but a more realistic and effective response that is closer to the values that the United States claims to uphold. There is absolutely no justification for the horrendous attacks on innocent American civilians in New York or Washington. These attacks have served no cause; they have likely set back efforts to build popular movements and international solidarity that, in the final analysis, are the best chance of achieving social justice and change in the Middle East and elsewhere. Those behind the attacks have no ideology worthy of any support; they are reactionary, cruel and inhumane.

Yet, at this difficult time, in addition to pursuing the criminals who carried out these attacks, Americans should critically examine policies with which Arabs, Muslims and many others have legitimate grievances. Military solutions to the problems in the Middle East and the terrorism that has resulted from these problems is not a policy but a recipe for more violence and bombings.

Steve Niva teaches International Politics and Middle East Studies at the Evergreen State College. He writes regularly for Middle East Report (www.merip.org) and is an Associate at the Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP) in Washington.

(Wal-Mart, continued)

cheaper than local shops. But, she says, once those smaller downtown stores folded due to the competition Wal-Mart greatly reduced its arts and crafts section and filled it with other items, forcing Lester to look to out-of-town stores for her supplies.

"Wal-Mart hasn't helped the area," she said. "All it did was pull everything away from downtown."

Besides drawing consumers from the surrounding area, Lacey City Council member Jim Weber sees little benefit to Wal-Marts in his town.

"There will be a huge impact and it's going to really hurt," he said.

Already dominated by sprawl, Lacey is not in danger of losing a city center or 'downtown character'. Instead, Weber says, the greater risk to Lacey is of Wal-Mart undercutting the already existing chain stores and eventually forcing them out.

"[Wal-mart] puts a lot of large superstores out of business – that's their plan," Weber said. "When a big-box fails you have a lot of empty space and concrete. We'll end up with empty stores that nobody will use," he said, adding that few small start-up businesses are likely to rent out a vacant Rite Aid or Target.

A recent study conducted in Houma, Louisiana, where Wal-Mart is undertaking the similar tactic of building a second store five miles from the first, estimated that Wal-Mart had 26 percent of the local grocery market. The study found that adding a second store would decrease the sales of the first Wal-Mart - but in combination, the two stores would increase Wal-Mart's overall market share to 32 percent, and help drive-out the competition.

"The question is: Do people in Lacey really need two very large regional stores that close together," wrote anti-sprawl activist Al Norman via e-mail, "or is this more for the convenience of Wal-Mart stockholders than Lacey homeowners?"

Norman, called the "guru of the anti-Wal-Mart movement" by *60 Minutes*, began campaigning against Wal-Mart in the early 90s when he helped fight Wal-Mart in his hometown of Greenfield, Massachusetts. Through his Sprawl Busters organization, speaking events across the country, and his new book, *Slam Dunking Wal-Mart*, Norman continues to preach his anti-sprawl gospel and is building steam for a national movement.

But many aren't buying it, as Wal-Mart's record-breaking sales, increasingly global reach, and millions of loyal customers testify.

"I can't wait for Wal-Mart to come," a cashier named Debi is quick to say while running the register at the Chambers Prairie Texaco and General Store, a business only a few blocks away from the proposed Yelm Highway Wal-Mart site. "I'm not happy with K-Mart, and I'm not crazy about Target," she said. "Wal-Mart has got great prices – I'd love it if it moved in right there," she said, motioning towards the empty field across from her store.

Even Jim Weber has to concede that many consumers love shopping at Wal-Mart and will drive to Lacey from Olympia and Tumwater just to shop at the discount retailer.

"Overall, Wal-Mart is great for shoppers," he said, adding, "but not for the local economy."

And in this southeast corner of Lacey, part of the local economy is farming. On the border of Yelm Highway, tucked between the quick-grow housing developments and walls of chain stores, lie the Spooner Farm berry fields. The farm's small wooden sale stand, decorated with giant hand-painted strawberries, and dirt road entrance stands in sharp contrast with its surroundings, and may seem the last bastion of the area's old economy. But take a side road off the highway, cutting through the thin layer of sprawl, and it's a different world. Winding Rich Road meanders through countless small farms, cow fields, and signs posted to fences advertising the sale of 'Sweet Corn'. After a wide bend in the road is the Lattin farm, home of Country Cider Mill apple cider and host of the Apple Festival, an annual event with wagon rides, ponies, clowns, and "everything and anything having to do with apples."

"Its only a matter of time before we're gone," said Carolyn Lattin, who's been raising apples and pumpkins on this 25 acres for nearly a half century.

"Nobody cares about anyone who grows anything. Its all wall to wall [development] – they want houses, stores, and sales tax." For Lattin, Wal-Mart is one more large nail in the coffin.

Lattin says she is under immense pressure from the Thurston County Planning Commission to give up the farm. Forced to operate under an 'unauthorized permit', Lattin says she has been saddled with restrictions against expanding or improving her farm. According to Lattin, the stream and surrounding green belt on her property is very attractive to the commission and would make for prime real estate.

"I'm no use to them – I don't give them the sales tax," she said.

Besides supplying the Olympia Thriftways and Food Co-ops with cider and playing host to the festival, Lattin gives tours of the cider-making process and opens her vast pumpkin patch to hundreds of school kids each year.

"Our days are numbered," she said. "It's a fact, and it's the way things are going to be. The area's filling up, so the kids have to enjoy it as long as they can, as long as we're here."

Weber, who is mounting a reelection bid for this November, says he is opposed to the Wal-Mart at the Yelm Highway site because, he says, it would not fit the character of the area. Weber is counting on other Lacey Council members to support him.

"I won't allow it," he said, "and I think we, as a council, are in agreement."

The Olympia area has had a history of opposing the construction of Wal-Marts. In 1995 residents of the Candlewood Mobile Home Park banded together to save 94 mobile homes from a Wal-Mart intent on building an outpost near busy Martin Way.

More than a year of hard work and fundraising paid off for the residents, who came up with $3.4 million to purchase the 14-acre plot from their British Columbian landowner.

Donna Regan, president of the Candlewood Homeowner's Association, said in 1996 that Wal-mart could have easily out-bid residents, but opted not to in light of strong public opposition.

After their battle with Wal-Mart was won, Olympia City Councilwoman Margaret McPhee told Candlewood residents the city would fight to keep big-box stores like Wal-Mart from taking root in the future.

"The only way to stop things like this is to limit the [size] allowed under zoning," McPhee said during a victory celebration speech to the new homeowners.

In June of this year the small town of Belfast, Maine did just that. After an equally long battle with the retail giant, Belfast residents and city government voted to change zoning regulations and ban stores larger than 75,000 square feet.

Belfast's debate over big-box stores began in the spring of 2000 when Wal-Mart selected a hayfield on the outskirts of town to build a 160,000 square foot super-center. In letters to the editor, public meetings, and printed materials, residents argued that large-scale chain stores would undermine Belfast's small town feel and sense of community.

Other areas around the country are following suit. The town of Nags Head, North Carolina banned stores larger than 50,000 square feet in July. Among the hazards cited in the new ordinance were increased traffic congestion, reduced air quality, increased noise, and loss of community character and identity.

Nags Head Mayor George Farah told the local newspaper that big box-super stores "suck the economy right out of communities."

Also in July the city of Santa Fe, New Mexico, San Luis Obispo, California, and Arizona's Coconino County took steps to adopt similar retail size caps.

"Small towns are destroyed by these types of developments," Belfast Mayor Mike Hurley wrote via e-mail. "I believe the 'Super Centers' to be sophisticated hunter-killers of small towns. It took a world-class fight and political bravery to win. I wish Olympia and Lacey the best of luck."

To comment write: wip@olywa.net

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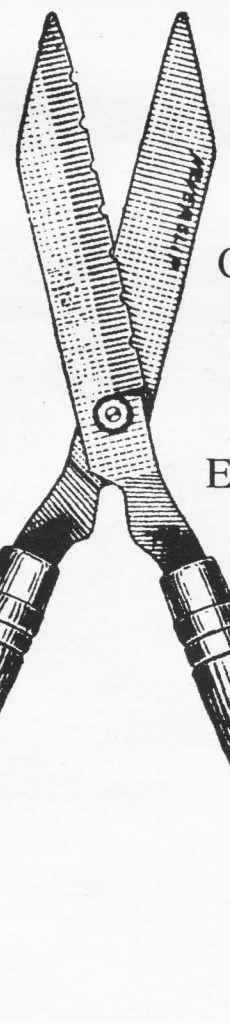

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Unions: Vehicles for Social Action

Kevin Layden

I am a shop steward for the United Food and Commercial Workers, local 367 which represents workers in Pierce, Thurston, Mason, Lewis and Grays Harbor counties. The UFCW primarily represents retail grocery workers as well as nursing home staff, and other retail workers, i.e. the Bon Marche and state liquor stores.

We were recently able to successfully negotiate a new three year grocery contract which included a full maintainance of benefits with some improvements, a reinstatement of full employer pension contributions, and a moderate increase in wages (45¢/year). The western Washington locals negotiated together with Allied Employers who represents the chain grocery stores. Allied had come to the bargaining table proposing take-aways like plan B insurance coverage, increased deductibles and increased age of eligibility. However, our union took an aggressive stand and began printing a newsletter allerting members to employer proposals, and administered an election of the membership to raise dues to support a strike fund. Not long after the strike fund was overwhelmingly approved and began to accrue, Allied Employers agreed to the contract, which takes effect at the end of this month. Fred Meyer non-food workers are still without an agreement, and are now mobilizing for the possibility that they will have to strike.

On September 18, I attended the annual 2001 UFCW Washington State Shop Stewards Seminar and intend here to report information which I gleaned from this one day event. This event was held in a Machinists hall in South Seattle near Boeing field and was hosted by UFCW International officers and the officers of various UFCW locals in the region. We were greeted by International Vice President and Regional Director Bob Morand and uncerimoniously left to a presentation by a pair of professional consultants with William H. Mercer, a Taft-Hartly trust plan human resource consulting firm (now there's a mouth full!) Their task was to help us understand the reasons for the increase in health care costs, which I will not bore you with, except to mention that the most disturbing to my mind is "cost shifting", in which the level of Medicare and Medicaid payments do not keep pace with inflation and the costs of providing care to the uninsured gets passed on. The moral drawn from this discussion by our hosts was that it was quite an accomplishment to have achieved maintainance of benefits in our most recent agreement, and that in order to do so in three more years, some hard work on different fronts would have to be undertaken. Underlying this conflict with employers as well as the conflict that Fred Meyer non-food workers are engaged in is the Wal Mart threat. Wal Mart is already in direct competition with Fred Meyer in the non-food departments in Shelton and has plans to expand to full grocery in that market.

Our next speaker was Governor Gary Locke, who, as a former grocery worker himself, expressed his sympathy for our collective situation and his support for the work that our members and our local unions do. He made reference to the events of April 11, reminding us of the union members, including law enforcement and rescue workers who died in the World Trade Center tragedy. He encouraged us to help break the deadlock in the state legislature by helping in the fight for victory for the Democratic party in the 21st and 38th districts.

The relationship between the Democratic party and the UFCW seems strongest at these events. Last year, we were visited by Senate candidate Maria Cantwell and an aid of Representative Brian Baird. We were coached on how to get the attention of the media and what to say in support of Vice President Al Gore. Many members, as well as union officers, turned out for the WTO protest march, but there was no open discussion of third party options, Ralph Nader or the Green party. I find this somewhat disturbing, as I find quite a bit of Democratic politics disturbing. In both cases I often find someone who seems to think they know better what is good for me, but aren't always receptive to my input.

After Governor Locke's brief remarks, we broke up into two workshops. I sat through a video presentation on "The Changing Face of Retail" which detailed the business and technological changes that are affecting the consumer and the workers. For example, new "U-scans" are turning up in some supermakets, and others have them in the works. Some companies are doing e-business out of their retail stores, some have gas stations. These changes affect the workers and how the union negotiates for them.

During the lunch break, I had the opportunity to stop by the Labor and Industries table and get information about Washington state's attempt to pick up where OSHA left off in applying an ergonomics rule to employers statewide. This targets musculoskeletal injuries and will affect workers in the grocery industry. Beginning next year, the state Department of Labor and Industries will begin working with companies with 50 or more full time employees to identify hazards. At the end of one year, the hazard will be reduced to meet standards set by the rule.

After lunch I attended a workshop on labor law. We were given the opportunity, after a brief overview of the act, to present scenarios and ask detailed questions of an experienced lawyer about the Family Medical Leave Act. Although I may never have to use the provisions of this act thanks to the sick leave and other provisions of my contract, as shop steward, it is important that I know how and when FMLA may help a co-worker. However, the most heartening part of this workshop came from a State Appeals Court decision called Wingert v. Yellow Freight Systems. To make a long story short, some freight workers were working three hours after a lunch period plus two hours overtime without being allowed a break in violation of state law. The Appeals Court decision stated clearly the intent of the law which was that any work period of more than three hours entitles a worker to a break period of at least 10 minutes, overtime or not. Moreover, the workers were entitled to be paid double damages, or twice the amount of time lost by being deprived of their break. In my store, we have only been allowed to take one paid break per eight hour shift when the off-the-clock lunch is after either five hours or three hours (a five-three split), as is the case with most eight hour shifts. This decision will entitle us to an additional break which will make a big difference since we spend our days on our feet on a concrete floor.

To close the seminar Rick Gregory, a union member with a degree in history (he chose to stay with the UFCW when he found out that his union job as a grocery clerk gave him better pay and benefits than he would have received teaching college), gave an entertaining talk on the future of unions. He reminded us of what unions have done to make America great. In the 1930's children of 7, 8, 9 years old were working 12-hour days. It was the labor movement that brought us the 8-hour day, 40-hour work week, child labor laws, living wages, on the job safety, job security, pensions, holidays, and employer-paid health insurance.

We also discussed the public's negative image of unions today and some possible contributing factors. We can't expect the government or the media to present a positive image of unions, or to support union causes. Every gain that has been made by working people has been fought hard for.

My impressions from this seminar cause me to reflect on my relationship with the union. Over time, I have asked to serve and be involved with the union's activities. However, I am realizing that the local is somewhat insulated from its membership, and doesn't always know how best to serve it. The grievance process and contract negotiations give the local its format for functioning. If the union is to be a vehicle for social action, it is going to be the members themselves that drive it. The members *ourselves* need to connect and form relationships with each other and with the larger community. If we are going to organize, it'll be grass-roots, and if we want to stay strong enough to withstand future negotiations with our ability to pay the bills and go to the doctor, we need to organize. The wolf is at the door.

P.S. Do Not Shop Wal Mart.

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The Olympia Network Project: a progressive resource

WHAT IS THE OLYMPIA NETWORK PROJECT?

OlyNetwork is an emerging collective started in Spring of 2001 whose mission is to increase networking and accessibility within the Olympia (and the greater Thurston County) social change community. We hope to do this in an open, non-sectarian fashion, through a number of short term and longer-term projects. We are based out of Media Island where we will be developing an office space during the coming months. *We Do Not Organize Political Campaigns:* we help to publicize the political work of others and to connect activists with similar interests.

Here is an outline of our current work:

1. We are working to create an electronic and printed directory compiling information on all of the area's activist organizations and grassroots social service groups. Please contact us at olynetwork@olynetwork.org if you would like to see your organization's profile in our publications.
2. We are in the process of creating a web-page (www.olynetwork.org) that will host a community calendar, the directory described above, community discussion boards, as well as provide free web hosting for local organizations and other features.
3. We are working to revitalize Media Island as a site for Olympia's activists to keep up-to-date on each other's activities.
4. We publish a weekly email calendar of events that is the best source for finding out what's happening around Olympia's social change community.

**If you would like to start receiving the email calendar, please drop us a line at olyevents@olynetwork.org. Please indicate whether you would like to receive one email a week or more frequent emails. The email calendar will be reverting to a once-a-week schedule when (if?) the current crisis subsides.

**Our 911 listserv is a special Anti-War/Anti-Racism "listserv" that you may request to join at any point. To join the listserv or for more information please email 911@olynetwork.org. If you join this e-mail list you will possibly receive several e-mails a day, as the list-serv becomes more well known.

We are looking for new members for our collective, particularly if you have some computer know-how and/or a serious interest in this type of work. You can contact us for more information at olynetwork@olynetwork.org or go to www.olynetwork.org

Letters, Briefs, cont.

in different parts of the world. The gap between the rich and the poor worldwide has widened as global institutions and multinational corporations have exerted their control over fundamental aspects of life, particularly in the global south. The protest against the WTO in Seattle and the World Bank and IMF in Washington DC highlight the potential of transnational solidarity and serve as examples of a different type of globalization: globalization "from below." Within this context, we wish to take stock of existing research and ongoing activism on the relationship between globalization and struggles for justice and peace and to map out an agenda for future study of and organizing around these issues.

Featured speakers include: Vinie Burrows, Tom Hayden, Sam Husseini, Amy Goodman, Njoki Njoroge Njehû and Brian Tokar,

To see the preliminary program and get information about registration, please visit us on the web: *http://www.evergreen.edu/user/copred/TESC2001.html* or e-mail us: *copred@evergreen.edu*

7th Annual Indigenous People's Day

March And Rally
at U.S./Canadian Border
October 7, 2001

The Northwest Leonard Peltier Support Network (NWLPSN) will be holding its 7TH Annual Indigenous People's Day, Justice For Leonard Peltier and the First Nations, March and Rally, on October 7th this year. This event is the coming together of Elders, activists and supporters from both sides of the border for a march and rally at the U.S./Canadian Border. The purpose is to publicize Leonard's case, support for on going Indigenous struggles and as a gathering to honor and celebrate the work of Northwest activists.

OCTOBER 6TH: CARAVAN FOR JUSTICE: Leaves Olympia (possibly Portland), with stops in Tacoma and Seattle. All vehicles welcomed, room for all who want rides. Contact SLPSG@aol.com or call (206) 325-0085.

OCTOBER 7TH: The RUN FOR JUSTICE will begin that morning (all runners welcomed). **MARCH**: 12 Noon, Blaine, WA. at Blaine Park (corner of Blaine & Alder, look for signs). **RALLY**: 1:00 PM, Peace Arch Park, U.S./Canadian Border. **FEAST/POTLUCK/HONORING** will take place after the rally.

Heartsparkle Players' Arts Walk Events

Friday October 5, 2001
WA Center for Performing Arts
512 Washington St (downtown Oly)

Photo Exhibit - *Of Many Colors: Portraits of Multiracial Families*
5pm - 10pm

This touring exhibit offers a powerful vision of the growing diversity of the American family. Of Many Colors includes photos by Gigi Kaeser and interviews with diverse families formed through interracial relationships or transracial adoption. This exhibit has visited many public schools, synagogues, churches, colleges, community centers, galleries and museums throughout the country since 1994.

Playback Theatre Performances - *Stories of our Multiracial Families and Communities*
7:30pm and 9:30pm

Playback Theatre is a spontaneous collaboration between performers and audience. People tell moments from their lives, then watch them re-created with movement, dialogue and music.

These two events are in collaboration with: The Thurston County Study Circles on Race and The Thurston Council on Cultural Diversity and Human Rights.

Jason Webley Plays Olympia

On September 10th, The Voyeur in downtown Oly, rocked with a world travlin' Seattle musician.

On October 13, Olympia will welcome back Jason Webley for a night of drinking songs, vegetable facts and wholesome, footstompin', untraditional accordion music as he ends his West Coast tour in this very town.

Webley, from Seattle, has toured the world singing his songs and playing his accordion with a passion not seen before. Webley rocks the stage as he gets 100% into his music. His movement makes the show an awesome one to see, as he stomps his feet, uses his whole body and screams out his words, unless it is time to go into the slower music. His voice is gravely and sounds like there has been many late nights in bars when he is doing his fast, lively tunes, yet it is pure and clean and full of sound when it is time to tone it down a little. This is not a show to miss.

Jason will be playing at Olympia World News (360) 570-9536, on October 13th with Concave at 8 pm. It is an all ages show so bring everyone you know and send him off on a good note. It only costs $5. Come see this extraordinary musician, learn some drinking songs and have a night of chalked full of craziness. His website is: www.jasonwebley.com. Check it out. Then come to the show.

In Search of the Big Picture

Tuesday, October 16th
Traditions Fair Trade, downtown Olympia at 7 pm

"The Bombing" which is a documentary about how three Palestinian youths blew themselves up on Sept. 4 1997 on a street in crowded Jerusalem. The film documents the search for answers in the afttermath of this tragedy. After the film there will be a discussion by all that attend. For more information call 709-9527. In Search Of The Big Picture film series that's sponsored by Fellowship of Reconcilliation.

Multiracial Family Celebration!

Saturday October 20, 2001
4pm - 9pm in Olympia

Activities Will Include:

- Reception
- Dialogue on Race for Adults
- Interactive Theatre Workshop for Youth
- Potluck Dinner
- *Playback Theatre Performance*

Registration is Required for this **FREE** Event Please call Debe Edden at: (360) 943-6772. This event is in collaboration with *Thurston County Study Circles on Race* and the *Thurston Council on Cultural Diversity and Human Rights*

Volunteers Needed To Save Our Buses

It is time to make a fuss for our buses again. The Alliance for Public Transportation (APT) is asking for your support.

Due to the passage of Initiative 695 in 1999, which lowered car tab fees to $30, Intercity Transit's (I.T.) budget was reduced by 42 percent. 14 bus routes were cut and approximately 100 employees were laid off as of February 28, 2000. In the spring of 2000, legislators gave transit $2.7 million (a one-time deal) to assist them.

APT, in coalition with disabled groups, union members, supporters of public transportation, 1000 Friends of Washington, and the Transportation Choices Coalition successfully defeated Initiative 745 (which mandated 90 percent of all state and local transportation money go to roads) in November 2000.

The current dilemma is that the allotted 2.7 million is now running out. In the year 2003, Intercity Transit's budget will be reduced to approximately 30 percent, which means more cuts in employees and minimal urban bus services. Without enough funds, Intercity Transit will probably go under.

The year 2003 is not far away. There are those of us in the community who rely on an efficient bus transportation system to get us to wherever we need to go. Bus riders represent every level of human being, young, old, disabled, poor and working class.

APT members, along with our supporters have petitioned, lobbied, marched, distributed fliers, held vigils, phone banked, lectured, appeared on TCTV, and held forums. We care about the environmental damage done by automobile emissions. We advocate other forms of transportation like bicycling, walking, riding the rails, ferries, car pooling and vanpooling. Currently we are brainstorming about how to save the Intercity Transit bus system by proposing an increased sales tax or a gasoline tax to Thurston County voters.

APT <u>needs</u> <u>volunteers</u> with all aspects of efforts to save our buses.

We meet every two weeks. Please make a fuss to save our buses!

***Next up – There will be a Public Transportation Improvement Conference with the County and Intercity Transit in October, please be there.**

You can contact us at 360-357-3795 (Chris Fuess). or www.geocities.com/publictransit

Tenant Rights:

Screening Fees / Holding Deposits

Recently landlords have increased their use of tenant screening fees, application fees, holding deposits and credit checks. In response tenants need to know about their rights before signing a rental agreement. Here is a summary of the Washington State Residential Landlord-Tenant Act regulations adopted in 1991 regarding holding deposits and screening fees.

<u>Tenant Screening</u>

Tenant screening is the process a landlord uses to obtain background information on prospective tenants, including credit and rental history.

Washington law (RCW 59.18.257) forbids a landlord from making a profit on the tenant screening process. If the landlord uses a screening service, the landlord can charge the tenant only the cost of such a service. The average cost is $35. If a landlord does his or her own screening, the landlord may charge the tenant only his or her actual costs.

In order for a landlord to conduct screening lawfully, the landlord must:

- **Notify the tenant of what the screening entails**
- **Notify the tenant of his or her rights to dispute the accuracy of the information obtained by the landlord**
- **Provide the tenant with the name and the address of the screening service used by the landlord.**

<u>Holding Deposits</u>

A holding deposit is money that a prospective tenant gives a landlord to secure that a rental unit will be available to that tenant. A holding deposit is usually given before signing a rental contract.

Washington law (RCW 59.18.253) requires a landlord to follow certain guidelines when charging a prospective tenant a holding deposit. The landlord must:

- **First offer the unit to the tenant.**
- **Give the tenant a receipt for the deposit.**
- **Give the tenant a written statement of the conditions, if any, under which the deposit is refundable to the tenant.**

If the tenant does not occupy the unit, the landlord can keep the money only if it is in accordance with the written statement mentioned above.

If a landlord violates the tenant screening and holding deposit sections of the RLTA, the tenant is entitled to the fee or deposit and a penalty of up to $100. <u>Small Claims Court</u> is the appropriate place for tenants to sue for the penalty.

Call Thurston County Tenants Union at 360/943-3036! for more information.

BEFORE YOU FORGET, SUBSCRIBE! SEE PAGE 2

TRUTH ABOUT POWER IS SPOKEN HERE
W.I.P.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

OCTOBER 2001

F R E E

Wal-Mart In Our Backyard. . . SEE PAGE ONE

Artistic Rendering
by Tristan Baurick

=== This W.I.P. ===

- 1 - Shocked & Horrified [Again] & Wal-Mart In Our Backyard

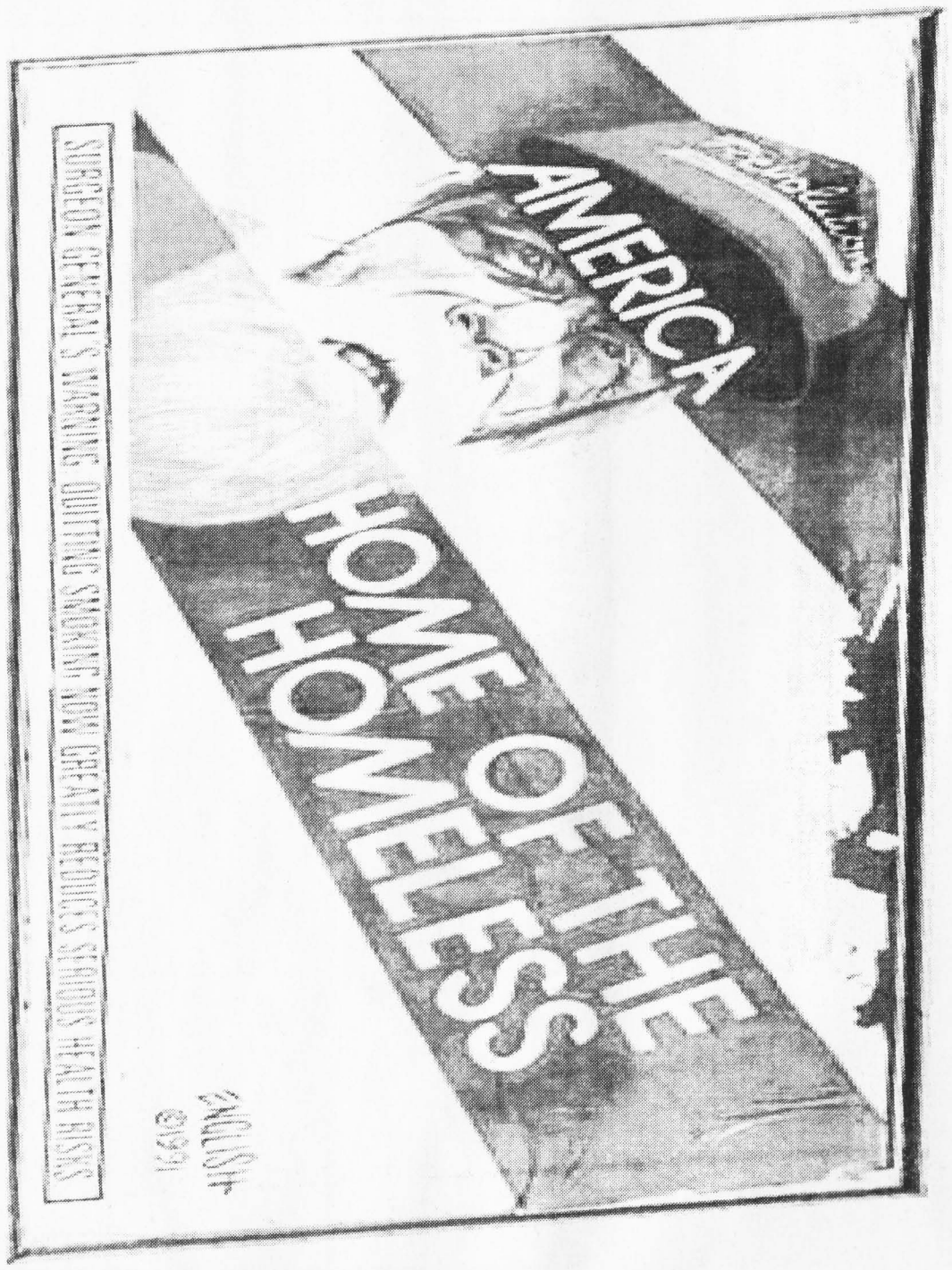
- 4 - Poster for Peace

- 7 - Sources of Violence Against U.S.A.

- 10 - Unions Vehicles For Social Action

- - - Next W.I.P. - - -

Elections and Candidate Endorsements


AMERICA
HOME OF THE HOMELESS
SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: QUITTING SMOKING NOW GREATLY REDUCES SERIOUS RISKS TO YOUR HEALTH.

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